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WHICH?

Fillmore or Buchanan!

BY

ANNA ELLA CARROLL,
OF MARYLAND.
AUTHORESS OF THE "GREAT AMERICAN BATTLE," "STAR OF THE WEST," ETC.

"O, God! our bleeding country save;
Thine arm alone can shield the brave."

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1856.

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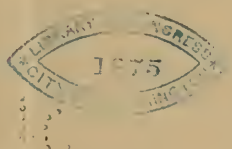

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WHICH? — FILLMORE OR BUCHANAN?

CHAPTER I.

"Our country's glory is our chief concern,
For this we struggle and for this we burn, —
For this we smile, for this alone we sigh, —
For this we live, for this would freely die."

AMERICANS, it is well to remember, that Mr. Buchanan, who is now pledged, if elected, to involve us in war for Cuba, from mere covetousness and in violation of all right, human and divine — opposed our last war with England, in 1812, and did all he possibly could to cause an English triumph over the United States. He denounced Mr. Madison's administration in terms of the severest censure, and cast imputations upon that good man's patriotism, which can never be forgotten. He and his apologists, have plead his youth, for that indiscretion; but, several years later, when a candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania, did he not still arraign Mr. Madison for the war? — did he not still assail the Democratic party, to which he now

belongs?—did he not then repudiate the same *foreign* influence he and it are now sacrificing America and Americans to propitiate? He did.

Here are Mr. Buchanan's own words to the point, after rehearsing the ills of the war of 1812:

"The greater part of those foreigners who would be thus affected by it, have long been the warmest friends of the Democratic party. They had been one of the great means of elevating the present ruling party, and it would have been ungrateful for that party to have abandoned them. To secure this foreign feeling, has been the labor of their leaders for more than twenty years, and well have they been paid for their trouble, for it has been one of the principal causes of introducing and continuing them in power. Immediately before the war, this foreign influence had completely imbodied itself, with the majority, particularly at the West, and its voice was heard so loud at the seat of government, that President Madison was obliged either to yield to its dictates, or retire from office. The choice was easily made by *a man who preferred the private interests to a public good*, and he therefore hurried us into a war utterly unprepared.

* * * * * * * * * *

We ought to use every honest exertion to turn out of power those *weak and wicked men*, whose wild and visionary theories have been tested and found wanting. Above all, we ought to drive from our shores foreign influence, and cherish American feeling. Foreign influence has been in every age the curse of republics — its jaundiced eyes sees everybody in false colors — the thick atmosphere of prejudice by which it is ever surrounded, excluding from its sight the light of reason. Let us then learn wisdom from experience, and forever banish this fiend from our society."

Daniel Webster, was also a young man at that day; and in an oration he delivered at Portsmouth, N. H., in July, 1812, we find the duties of a true patriot exposed. And though he did not approve Mr. Madison's policy, we find marked contrast with the manifestation of Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Webster said: —

"With respect to the war in which we are now involved, the course which our principles require us to pursue cannot be doubtful. It is now the law of the land, and as such, we are bound to regard

it. Resistance and insurrection form no part of our creed. The disciples of Washington are neither tyrants *in* power, nor rebels *out*. If we are taxed to carry on this war, we shall disregard certain distinguished examples [a hit at Gallatin and his concern in the whisky rebellion], and shall pay. If our personal services are required, we should yield them to the precise extent of our constitutional liability. At the same time the world may be assured that we know our rights and shall exercise them. We shall express our opinions on this, as on every measure of Government, I trust without passion, I am certain, without fear. We have yet to hear that the extravagant progress of pernicious measures abrogates the duty of opposition, or that the interest of our native land is to be abandoned by us in the hour of the thickest dangers and most necessity. By the exercise of our constitutional right of suffrage—by the peaceful remedy of election, we shall seek to restore wisdom to our councils and peace to our country."

Now, that war shed a halo of light upon American Nationality, and advanced us at once into the front rank of nations.

But what caused that war? Plainly this, that England joined France in stopping all commerce with the United States, and issued the "Orders in Council" in November, 1807, to that effect.

The Americans adopted their *embargo* in 1808, and all intercourse between Europe and this country was stopped, after twenty-five years of unbroken tranquility.

England's exports to the United States, the day she forced the embargo on Americans, were four millions greater than her imports. That difference we *paid* England in money, or continental bills, which were its representative. Every packet of their goods sent to us, carried back our *funds* to them: when the "Orders in Council" startled the people, and led them, first to an embargo, and finally to the declaration of

war, in 1812! And yet Mr. Buchanan, in denouncing that war, in the face of the nation said it was no invasion upon our rights, our commerce, or the interests of our merchants. Why did he assume to such sentiments, in opposition to the will of the American people? Because, the fact was, that all his sympathies and wishes were with the British!

There is one other act, in the public history of Mr. Buchanan, which betrays a moral turpitude, a practised hypocrisy, which sickens the very heart of every honest man. It is the treachery he displayed towards Henry Clay, which three times kept him from the Presidential office.

Mr. Buchanan tried to mislead both Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson, to effect a corrupt bargain between them. But these men were honest, and could not be compromised to meet Buchanan's views, who then turned around and charged upon Henry Clay and Adams, the same corrupt bargain, he sought to make between Clay and Jackson.

What are the facts? In 1825, the election for President devolved upon the House of Representatives of the United States, and the contest was between Adams and Jackson. Mr. Buchanan, the political friend of Jackson, and under the certain expectation of reward for the services of Pennsylvania, shewed no common energy for Jackson's success.

He believed, therefore, that to effect this result, it was necessary to identify Mr. Clay with Jackson's interest. Hence it was that Mr. Clay was first ap-

proached upon the subject of taking the Premiership under Jackson. That you may fully understand, Americans, Mr. Buchanan's skill in *jesuitical management*. we give you Mr. Clay's statement, written in his own words, shortly before his death :

"Some time in January, 1825, and not long before the election of President of the United States by the House of Representatives, Hon. James Buchanan, then a member of the House, and afterwards many years a Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania, who had been a zealous and influential supporter of Gen. Jackson in the preceding canvass, and was supposed to enjoy his unbounded confidence, called at the lodgings of Mr. Clay, in the city of Washington. Mr. Clay was at the time in the room of his only messmate in the House, his intimate and confidence friend, Hon. R. P. Letcher, since Governor of Kentucky, then also a member of the House. Shortly after Mr. Buchanan's entry into the room, he introduced the subject of the approaching Presidential election, and spoke of the certainty of the election of his favorite, adding that he would form the most splendid Cabinet that the country had ever had. Mr. Letcher asked, how could he have one more distinguished than that of Mr. Jefferson, in which were both Madison and Gallatin? Where would he be able to find equally eminent men? Mr. Buchanan replied, "he would not go out of this room for a Secretary of State," looking at Mr. Clay. This gentleman (Mr. Clay) playfully remarked that he thought there was no timber there fit for a Cabinet officer, unless it was Mr. Buchanan himself.

Mr. Clay, while he was so hotly assailed with the charge of bargain, intrigue and corruption, during the Administration of Mr. Adams notified Mr. Buchanan of his intention to publish the above occurrence, but by the earnest entreaties of that gentleman, he was induced to forbear doing so."

Any common mind will at once see that Mr. Clay penetrated the corrupt scheme of Mr. Buchanan, by the manner of his own reply. And on this paper, written by Mr. Clay's own hand, and now held by his biographer, Mr. Calvin Colton, it clearly does not tell all Mr. Buchanan said in that interview, but directs Mr. Colton to write to Mr. Letcher. This was done

when Mr. Letcher replied promptly, declining his readiness to reveal the whole truth, but for the pledge of secrecy Mr. Buchanan had extended from him, and from which, in a long series of years, he was still unwilling to release Mr. Letcher.

Before Mr. Buchanan went further with Mr. Clay, he thought it best to sound Gen. Jackson on the matter, but, in strict consistency with that great man's character, he was most indignantly repulsed; and so far from consenting to pledge the State Department to secure his election, Gen. Jackson made Mr. Buchanan feel the force of his contempt, as he uttered these words:—"These are secrets I will keep to myself—I will conceal them from the very hairs of my head, and if my right hand knew what my left hand would do on the subject of appointment to office I would cut it off and cast it into the fire. Before I would reach the Presedential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with them."

To the close of Gen. Jackson's life he condemned Mr. Buchanan as the author of the bargain and intrigue slander, and a letter to his old and intimate friend, Major Lewis, is clear on this question. And here it is:—

GEN. JACKSON TO MAJOR W. B. LEWIS.

"HERMITAGE, Feb. 26th, 1845.

"Your observations with regard to Buchanan are correct. *He showed a want of moral courage in the affair of the intrigue of Adams and Clay*, did not do me justice in the expose he there made, and *I am sure about that time did believe there was a perfect understanding between Adams and Clay* about the Presidency and the

Secretary of State. THIS I AM SURE OF. But whether he viewed that there was any corruption in the case or not I know not; but one thing I do know, *that he wished me to combat them with their own weapons*; *that was, to let my friends say, if I was elected I would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State. This to me appeared deep corruption, and I repelled it with that honest indignation as I thought it deserved*;

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Gen. Jackson's letter needs no comment! And with a single remark we leave you, Americans, to make your own conclusions. It is this; that while every other defamer of Mr. Clay, upon this matter, openly confessed that great man's innocence of all bargain and corruption to obtain office under Mr. Adams, Mr. Buchanan, the very man who had sought himself to make that bargain between Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson, violated all sense of honor and right, and refused to speak the truth, when he himself originated the slander, which was ruining Mr. Clay. He not only refused to speak himself, but insisted upon the pledge, which compelled Mr. Clay's own friend to keep silence! Need we wonder, then, that Mr. Buchanan should now refuse to speak? Now that he "Squares" himself to the platform of his party, and declares anything a "finality" which aids his ambitious ends! Can we wonder at the Ostend Conference? Can we wonder that he winked at the conduct of those subordinates in London who abused their office by putting the seal of the American Legation upon despatch bags filled with incendiary publications, appealing to the revolutionists of Europe? No, no! But we do wonder, that a man, whom Gen. Jackson, Henry Clay, and James K. Polk, after an association of more than thirty years, regard as *unreliable*,—

we say we do wonder, that, at such a crisis in our affairs, a man with such singular antagonisms in his own character, should have been considered for the Presidency in this great emergency?

Not only did Mr. Clay leave the written record in his own hand to show the corrupt conduct of Buchanan toward him, but he further told his biographer, Dr. Colton, to call on Mr. Letcher, of Ky., who could give further information on the point. Mr. Letcher admits the letter, and only refuses to expose it because he is silenced by a promise exacted from Buchanan! Why? Because *it would convict him of a serious criminal offence.*

Every sane man and woman in the land believes that if Buchanan was an innocent man, he would gladly call on Mr. Letcher to expose the letter, and thus relieve himself of a charge which has so long disgraced his name.

Well might the sagacious Webster detect the jesuitical letter of Buchanan, when taying to exonerate himself, from the moral infamy of which he was guilty, as he wrote thus to Mr. Clay:

"Boston, July 24, 1827.

I have a suspicion that the 'respectable member of Congress' is Mr. Buchanan. If it should turn out so, it will place him in an awkward situation, since it seems he did recommend a bargain with your friend, on the suspicion that such a bargain had been proposed to them, on the part of friends of Mr. Adams. I am curious to know how this matter will develope itself.

I am, always, truly yours,

Daniel Webster."

"BOSTON, August 22, 1827.

Mr. Buchanan is treated too gently—many persons think his letter candid—I deem it otherwise. It seems to me to be labored very hard to protect the General as far as he could without injury to himself. Although the General's friends this way, however, affect to consider Buchanan's letter as supporting the charge, it is possible the General himself and the Nashville commentator may think otherwise, and complain of Buchanan.

Ever truly yours,
DANIEL WEBSTER."

Buchanan, we all remember, was Secretary of State, and Marcy, Secretary of War, under James K. Polk, when the gallant Scott was sent to Mexico without proper orders for his mission. *The war was delayed. and many noble Americans killed*, from having to wait for months for the *Democratic* administration to act; when finally Gen. Scott got weary and anxious to take Vera Cruz, and ordered all the guns from the ships, and in defiance of the tardy administration at Washington, took the city by storm, before they woke up at Washington to the emergency. When Gen. Scott got home, instead of being received with every demonstration of respect by James Buchanan and William L. Marcy, now the *Prime* Minister of Pierce's administration, he was ordered by those very men, whose administration he had just saved from disgrace before mankind, to be tried by court martial for acting without orders! Oh, Americans, who can recur to that act without indignation, or hear the names of such men as James Buchanan and William L. Marcy called without horror!

One of the first resolutions of the Democratic party embodied in the platform which Mr. Buchanan personates, declares that "*no imposture was too monstrous to*

be imposed on the credulity of the American party! This is typical of the incredible impudence of the demagogues who have aided Pierce in his administration by voting two hundred thousand millions of acres of land to the States to please political tricksters, while they cried out that they have no power to interfere with the eternal improvements of the country.

Let us examine the matter.

The second resolution of the Cincinnati platform is this:

"That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements."

The fourth continues thus:

"That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or directly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient."

Now, Americans, mark the fraud by which this platform *alias* Buchanan, attempts to cheat you. In order to secure the vote of the Western and Northern States, *another* resolution was added.

And this *last* resolution was put there *after* the *platform was made and* Buchanan nominated on it. Think of this outrage upon the common sense of a nation of freemen! And note the fact, that, in publishing the Democratic platform of Cincinnati at the South, this *last* resolution is not found attached to it. It is not found in any *Southern* paper, but always in the other sections of the country, where the people are known to demand a Pacific Railroad, and will vote for no man

as President of the United States who opposes it. And the Cincinnati Convention thrice voted down the empty resolution in favor of the Pacific Railroad, that finally passed after it was found to mean nothing but a mere trick to cheat the people. One fact, however, is not without significance, that, *sham* resolution as it was, the Pennsylvania delegation, the friends and neighbors of James Buchanan voted against it all the time!

When we remember that Cuba, lying within the Gulf of Mexico, but 130 miles from Florida, within a short distance of New Orleans and the Mississippi river, sends to us not twenty-five per cent's worth of its commerce, while three-fourths go to the parts of Europe, we discover another evil which has resulted from the contemptable actings of the Democratic party, always threatning some such scheme as Buchanan's Ostend Conference to buy it, *steal it, or fight for it.*

The South American States, too, with a population of 20,000,000, and a territory ten times as large as the United States — far richer in agricultural resources than our own soil — are able to give us fifty times more of its accumulated industry, than we possess, did we now command its trade, as we should do by proper reciprocal treaties similar to that now existing between the United States and Canada, if we had been blessed with an *American* administration.

Central America, too, had friendly relations been cultivated by commerce and trade, would not now have been ready to cut the throat of every Anglo-American who treads that foreign soil.

The Frenchman, who, on trial for the murder of his father and mother, cried out to the court to have mercy upon a poor *orphan*, did so with quite as much propriety as Pierce could now ask the American people to repress their just indignation against his administration.

After sacrificing the peace and tranquility of his country, and violating his solemn oath, to defend the Constitution, for the sake of re-election, he could get together, through the patronage of the Custom Houses, but 122 votes at the Cincinnati Convention; which rapidly dwindled to 0!

The Cincinnati Convention met to substitute names only, *not to change or modify principles and measures.* Mr. Buchanan has endorsed Pierce's administration, and declares himself *the* platform of the Cincinnati Convention, which personates, and if carried out, would lead to the inevitable *degredation and ruin* of the American people. It says: "The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of *free seas* and a progressive *free trade* throughout the world." This doctrine is more baneful to the interests of the American laboring man, than even a foreign war. Americans, what is *free trade* but *taking money directly from your pockets to pay the expenses of the government, instead of putting duties on imported goods, which you would not feel?* If James Buchanan is elected, you are to have *equal taxation*, which, allowing there are twenty-five millions of people, will make *each man, woman, and child have three dollars apiece to pay*

yearly. Mr. Buchanan approves, too, of ten cents a day as the wages of labor! Think of this! The Cincinatti Convention did not consider the ills we endure now were sufficient, while the government is pampering foreign and domestic pets, and squandering eighty millions of the people's money, so it goes to taxing the poor, to increase their burden.

Under the present plan we are only taxed for what we choose to purchase, and no more. Then the hard earnings of our yeomen must go to help to support the idle in luxury; so says Mr. Buchanan when he heartily approves every word of the platform! Where, where has the democracy of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson fled?

The next thing, Mr. Buchanan is pledged to do by the platform, Americans, is to give us *free seas!* "To insure our ascendancy over the Gulf of Mexico, and maintain a permanent protection over the great outlets." There never was a greater absurdity than this upon the earth, and manifests a most wilful ignorance of geography. *This nation has no more right to the soil between Cuba and Yucatan*, than it has to Chinese Tartary! The Caribean Sea, therefore, one of the outlets to the Gulf of Mexico, we could no more claim ascendency over than we could over the Danube in Austria. The Atlantic Ocean, the other outlet to the Gulf of Mexico is between Cuba and Florida. All the commerce of Eastern Mexico and Cuba goes through this channel; and it will take a wiser man than we suppose Mr. Buchanan to be, to prove why the United States have any more right to ascendency

over the waters which wash the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, than other countries similarly situated.

But if the American people elect Buchanan, they have his authority that *it will be attempted* And how? Why by submitting the people to taxation to the amount of $300,000,000 to construct a navy to cope with that of France and England, and prepare for war with those two great powers, and Spain in addition! This would be the inevitable price of such democratic folly. Nor will this be all! What will become of the commerce and trade of these United States? What of their agricultural products; cotton, rice, corn, wheat and tobacco? All our commerce with Europe would cease at once. And while our own goods would in part become valueless, we should be obliged to forego all the necessaries or luxuries we import from abroad.

What would be the result? — disunion and anarchy among the people, who, deprived of their property by being restricted in their means of living, of their enterprise and thrift, *the government would soon be subverted.*

Americans, *it would be better now to expend a thousand millions to elect Millard Fillmore*, whom you know and have *tried* then to elect Buchanan! He may cost us our liberties! In the other case, *the money would sure to be returned to the people tenfold*, in the confidence, and progress, and peace it would bring upon the whole Union.

With a war in Kansas, which occupies a territory twice as large as England, Mr. Buchanan is pledged

also to carry out the Ostend Manifesto, if elected. Now what would ensue, Americans, if that were acted out? We answer, *War immediately* with England, France and Spain! And all commerce between the United States and the Western Coast of Europe would that moment *cease*. This would stop all exportations of cotton and breadstuffs to Europe, and precipitate us into anarchy and revolution.

The real meaning of that Ostend Manifesto is conceded upon its face. It is deep, dark and malignant; and if ever enforced, it will be by making the American people *wade through seas of blood!* As we have already seen, it was the work of European revolutionists and American tricksters. They who called themselves Americans, were mostly *foreign* born, with foreign hearts, like Soule & Co. To this degrading business Mr. Buchanan became the pliant tool, because he wished to succeed Franklin Pierce at Washington, and was made to believe, therefore, this was the very best move.

Mr. Buchanan has always been in the hands of very *bad managers*, who, to have him *appear* consistent, for the *first time* in his life, they corrupt him, again and again, to *reiterate* the policy of the government of the United States, as declared at Ostend in 1855. In his speech, accepting the nomination of the Cincinnatti Convention, hear what Buchanan says:

"Gentlemen, two weeks since I should have made you a longer speech, but now I have been placed upon a platform of which I most heartily approve, and that can speak for me. Being the representative of the great Democratic Party, and not simply James Buchanan, I must square my conduct according to the platform of the party, and insert no new plank nor take one from it."

And then read the letter from his friend, M. A. G. Brown, to Hon. R. S. Adams, of the 18th June last, and you will find that Mr. Buchanan regards the acquisition of Cuba very desirable *now*, and likely to become a national necessity; and says, "if I can be instrumental in settling the Slavery question upon the terms I have named, and then add Cuba to the Union, I shall be willing to give up the ghost, and let Breckinridge take the government!"

In a word, Mr. Buchanan says, "he stands upon the platform of the Cincinnati Convention, and endorses every part of it." Thus, Americans, you see for yourselves the political *Mokanna*, into whose hands you place your destiny, if you ever select James Buchanan for your Chief Ruler! Whoever has read that remarkable document, called the Ostend Manifesto, should also read Brown's letter, giving an account of Buchanan's acceptance of his nomination.

Do this at once, Americans, do it for yourselves, and not allow any political leader to insult your intelligence, by telling you Buchanan will not follow the filibustering programme of the Cincinnati Convention!

You have *his* words that he *will*. You have the pledge of his political supporters that he *will*. What other human testimony can you need to be combined?

It is time there was an end to this compact sale of the Roman Catholic Irish and German votes. And the American party fears not to say, that, as foreign papists armed under their own flag, they *must* not and *shall* not, as *foreigners*, interfere with our just political rights, to elevate aspiring demagogues of any party!

My countrymen, we want a man to watch over the destinies of this people who recognizes the moral life and moral light of our free institutions, and whose character declares the free government for which we contend. Remember, that we tread upon the graves of our fathers, whose *names*, and *hearths*, and *churches*, and *employments*, were as dear to them, as are ours to us! And that joy in life which made them fight for these privileges, calls upon us to-day to rally to the maintenance of the Union and the Constitution. We are surrounded by the cry for liberty, as strongly as on that night when it came from Lexington and Bunker Hill, and called fathers, brothers and husbands to the field! Our free government, Americans, is the *last hope* of the world; and our fathers who bled and died for it — our mothers who sacrificed their all for it, call out to us from beneath the green turf, to come with heroic hearts — with good and true American hearts, trusting God and beseeching him to save the nation from the ills which Franklin Pierce and his administration have begun, and which may be consummated by James Buchanan!

My countrymen, God has looked graciously and pitied our condition, and by his providence, the American party comes as the break-water of liberty, against which the waves, and torrents of discord and disunion will beat in vain. And now, when mind is in close and sharp contact with mind, and division of opinion makes men impatient for decision, Millard Fillmore is seen as the *rainbow on the storm!* And, under the American standard of the Bible and Liberty, the

American people may cry aloud to foreign enemies and domestic traitors,—"The Union *must* and *shall* be preserved."

The best friends we possess, are often those with whom we differ in opinion in private; and we make to them just such concessions as the *North made to the South, and the South made to the North*, when this beloved Union was cemented by brotherly love, and adjusted with all its delicate balances.

In 1850, Mr. Fillmore, a Northern man, whose principles and conduct were all in consistency with those of his native State, was called by the death of Gen. Taylor to the Presidency of these United States. At that moment, the ability and patriotism of the whole country, North and South, were united in an effort to adjust the difficulties which impended by the acquisition of new territory; and in the spirit of conciliation and compromise, which guided the framers of the Constitution, the Compromise Measures were the result of their common effort, irrespective of geographical sections or distinction. This law was passed, then, by the expressed will of the *majority*, and submitted to Mr. Fillmore for his signature as President of the Nation. And after taking every precaution to fulfil the Constitutional requirements, by submitting it to the Attorney General for approval, Mr. Fillmore affixed to it his signature, and it became the law of the land!

Had Mr. Fillmore refused to sign this Compromise, he would have perilled the existence of the Union

instantly; and patriots, from all sections, would have *execrated him as a traitor, while Congress would have impeached him!* He was ready, therefore, when duty and patriotism called, to forget all *private* preferences, to cast aside all *personal* predilections, and to look only to the maintenance of the Union and the glory of our whole country, as *one* people!

Was there any disposition then, manifested by Congress to repeal that act? No! It was the act of *peace*; and Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Hancock and Adams, would, if possible, have burst from their graves to have denounced the traitor who would have committed treason to the Constitution and laws, by *refusing* to sign the fugitive slave law. The veto power was not made by our father's to *defeat* the will of the majority, and turn the President of the country into an imperious autocrat! And it is a crying shame to forget that Millard Fillmore, all his life, has been fighting on the side of *American principles* and *Union principles*, and has saved the nation from sin and shame!

In conclusion, Americans, let us ask, are not all the antecedents of Millard Fillmore *right?* Is there any *back* record which, if unrolled, would cause him to shrink from public scrutiny? There is none. His life is open to the world. His integrity, honor and capability, as unquestionably settled and established, as were those exalted qualities in the character of Washington. In reference to the agitating topics of the day, where do we find Mr. Fillmore, by his votes in Congress? Always one way; and that was, a *con-*

sistent, steady opposition to the extension of slavery — Opposed, *just as Henry Clay was*, to extending that institution over any portion of the free territory of the Union. He has ever maintained the principle, *that Congress nor the President have a right* to disturb or interfere with the States in which slavery already exists, under the sanction of the Constitution and laws.

Mr. Fillmore has expressly declared his hostility to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and every intelligent man and woman ought to know, that, under his administration, that repeal *never could have been obtained.* Every patriot should know with how much heart and soul Millard Fillmore would delight to see that Compromise of 1820 restored, and the Union blessed with the peace and prosperity which pervaded every section of the country when he resigned the government into the hands of Franklin Pierce. No true American can rise in his place and point to an act of Mr. Fillmore that is not *opposed* to forcing slavery upon the free territory of this Union. That he is opposed to all piratical attempts to seize the territory belonging to other nations, is equally true. And so long as the Union and the Constitution have a martyr, Millard Fillmore will be found true to their principles, and ready to aid in perpetuating their glorious privileges.

Here, then, in addition to the Pierce platform of the Democratic party, Mr. Buchanan is to give us *free trade*, which means *equal taxation* from the pockets of the rich and poor; free seas, or an entire ascendency

over the Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean, and the Caribean Sea, which will cost the nation *additional taxation of three hundred millions, and war with the three great powers of Europe!* — the possession of Cuba, which he says we must buy, if we can; but if Spain is obstinate, and refuses, then, "it becomes the duty of Americans to wrest it from her by Divine right!" In other words, to steal Cuba! Spain, you know, Americans, *will* refuse, and so does Mr. Buchanan know it, for she has the treaty of France and England to *back her in the act*. But, says that manifesto, "If necessary, we ought neither to count the cost, nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us. We would be recreant to our duty, be unworthy our gallant forefathers, and commit base treason against our posterity." This foul slander is a base *calumny* upon our honored dead. They cry out, from their charnel-houses, shame, shame. And, adds Buchanan to Mr. Brown, "our necessities might require us to make other acquisitions!"

It is the interest, aim and wish of all true Americans, to remain at peace. And, last of all, to go to war with our best customers abroad, from whom we buy and to whom we sell. And, it is all idle to try to force conviction upon the minds of the American people, that it is their duty to inflict a blow upon any nation without their rights have been sacrificed or their principles invaded.

If Buchanan is elected, the Pacific Rail-Road will never be built. Instead of which, he will continue to *lock* up the people's money and keep it from the trade

and commerce of the country. The Executive of Pierce brought up the hands of the government and paid five millions of the people's money, while they were suffering for the wages of labor!

Since the influx of gold from California, nearly four hundred millions has been added to the circulation of the country, or at the rate of thirty-six millions annually. And yet, the Democratic party, instead of managing this judiciously, and keeping the country out of debt, have actually run the people into four or five hundred millions of useless expense, while *pets* have been pampered and fed from the treasury, to perpetuate the power; and by interfering, as in the local elections of all the States, and by means of the patronage of government, all but themselves under foot.

Now, my countrymen, you see precisely what you have to expect by perpetuating the Democratic Executive of Franklin Pierce! The same home, and a *worse* foreign policy, the same anti-American feeling and contemptible subserviency to the foreign Roman Catholic hierarchy! You ask, how do we know this? We answer, that it is as well understood that James Buchanan, headed with the foreign Catholic vote in 1852, for Pierce, which put an Irish Catholic in the Cabinet from Pennsylvania, as that he defeated Henry Clay for the Presidency, in Pennsylvania, in '44, when he practised the gross fraud upon that people, and declared to them that James K. Polk was a better *tariff* man than Henry Clay? But for this, Mr. Clay would have filled the office of President, to which he was most clearly elected by the votes of his devoted countrymen!

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